1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 342 Ifalik

"House floors and house platforms are graded and covered with waveworn coral gravel (faumax). Water drains through this rapidly, keeping the platforms relatively clean and dry in rainy weather. Commonly the gravel is outlined with a row of coral blocks, which keep it in place. Along the lower sides of platforms on sloping ground the blocks are piled to form a rudimentary retaining wall. Appearance was clearly the motive for an elaboration noted on one site. This has an outer and an inner platform, the latter a few inches higher. A similar bit of terracing, somewhat overgrown, marks one side of the platform at Katel where the men's house of Rauau district formerly stood. This decoration apparently served to enhance the dignity of the place.

Coral blocks are piled in several places to form piers that extend into the lagoon. Large blocks form walls around the outside. These are filled in with finer rubble. On some of the piers are little houses, which get more breeze than those set back in the coconut grove. These buildings, though, being correspondingly exposed to high winds, do not last long. Two were destroyed during our stay. Two piers near our tent had lost the buildings that once stood on them, and the seaward walls had been battered in by waves during some typhoon.

Coral blocks are also used to build the fishing weirs described later."

1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
342, 396 Ifalik

"Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 342 Ifaluk

"The term for master-craftsman, sennap, may be applied to builders of dwellings (sennap a l'im) and experts in repairing public buildings (sennap a li gasu van or sennap a li gatchu li fal). But there seems to be some doubt about who deserves these titles. Tom once said there were recognized master-builders; but later, when asked to name them, contradicted his previous statement. 'Everybody savvy', he explained. When the same question was put to the chief, Maroligar, he gave three names; then added 'I think, Totogoeiti (Tom's native name); and finally, when pressed--for he supervised repairs on public buildings in Rauau--admitted he was one himself. After further consideration, he said that three-Toroman, Maroligar and Totogoeiti--were big experts. Three others--Wolpetau, GauaisIg, Arovalimen--were less advanced. If Tom contradicted himself, Maroligar at least wavered."

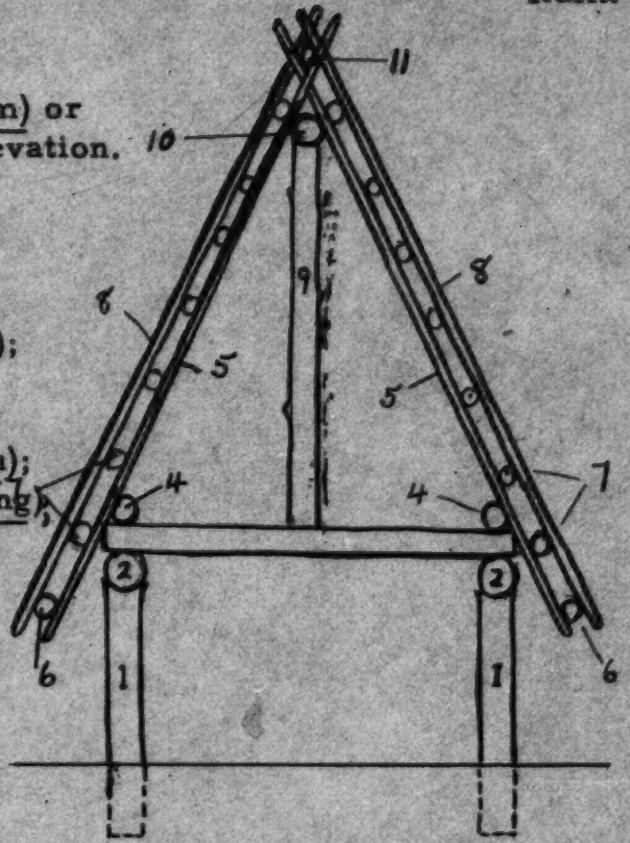
1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342 Ifalik

"Dwellings are built on Ifalik almost exclusively for shelter. They are hardly valued at all as works of art or means of displaying the prosperity of their owners. Consequently the only requirements for an ordinary house are a roof and walls that will keep out sun and rain, and a frame that will withstand a strong wind.

As befits the strictly utilitarian character of the craft, the position of house-carpenter is not especially honored. There is no formal, restricted lore of house-building, as there is of canoe-building, navigation, and tattooing. No myth was collected attributing the origin of this craft to the gods, though there are such myths for all three other crafts. Three songs were collected in praise of shipwrights; none in praise of house carpenters."

1: Burrows--46-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342 Ifalik

"Fig. 4. -Construction of Ifalik dwelling (im) or canoe-house (fan ni wā); end elevation.



1, corner post (sur); 2, stringer (tareilap); 3, end tie-beam (kouram); 4, roof plate; 5, rafter (wou); 6, eave purlin (apux); 7, purlin (kapongax); 8, thatch rafter (wou); 9, king post (bwot); 10, main ridge pole (yng); 11, upper ridge pole."

"In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifalik now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers, which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one

[47] of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. This type is shown in Pl. 2a. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 11."

-1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 285, 335 Ifalik

"As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifalik, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more thoroughly sun-cured and are then called aso gili. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge."

1: Burrows--47-48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 335 Ifalik

"In a cook-shed or dwelling, the rounded end is supported by one or two small posts; commonly one in a cook-shed, two in a dwelling. In the most [48] carefully built dwellings, in which the stringers are hewn square (and in that case called goragu), the purlins under the rounded ends are also squared, and fitted to the stringers with overlapping joints."

2; Damm et al. --56-58 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 173, 342 Ifaluk

According to legend, Módj brought the art of house-building from Yap; it is not known who taught it to the inhabitants of that island.

1. The house design.

The frequent typhoons have often destroyed the houses; during the last one only four dwelling houses escaped, (3 on Feladjik, 1 on Fafalap). Then they were not rebuilt with the same care, which had been used before. Formerly there were more houses than there are today, and they were also larger; they had a six-sided plan, and were made of wooden planks. But the natives did not know how to construct houses without using supporting pillars on the four corners. The deceased brother of an old man, who was still alive in 1909, saw this for the first time in Aurepik, in the house of a man from Yap, named Gamelaí; and he died on this island away from home. Since that time houses have been built in Ifaluk without any súle. It seems that the natives have never erected any stone foundations, like the ones that are used on Aurepik, but they use the same name for them, bäi.

ím is the family dwelling. It is the ordinary rectangular house with a gable roof, that slopes forward, and no special stone foundation. Drawing 155 shows the old form. There are side posts (djúne) set in the framework of the floor (gorás, number 1 of drawing 155), which is made of four beams, and the walls (dibáb, no. 4) stand between them. The ceiling beams (gabilibín, no. 6) rest on the 4 corner-djúne, and then they

carry the purlins, (falidibāb, no. 1 of drawing 156) into which the djūne are inserted. Girders and empty trusses (no. 2), both of which are called wōu, are stuck part way into the purlins. Just as on Polowat and Satowal, the ridge purlin is ūn. The others (no. 3) have various names, according to whether they are attached to the empty truss or to the rafters; [58] in the first case they are kabanāk, in the other: kabilal; both are interchangeable. The rafters (no. 4) are called gāto.

The gable walls are arranged in a special fashion. A central post (wadābāo) stands on the gabilibin, beneath which a âudānilālo beam is braced between the side posts. A roof (dābāu) projects over one gable wall; (no. 3 in drawing 155); its empty truss is called kabanāk di bin, its rafters gāto di bin. This dābāu overshadows a veranda (bin), which lies at the level of the purlins, and has a pot-board (fāne di bin) in front. A special kind of beam support is not always available for it, as on Hok; the corner posts are sūle, the two long beams lying on them are dalielōb , the diagonal one is âudān-ilālo. This porch was evidently devised to protect the householder from the rain, if by chance he wanted to sit in front of his door. The mats used for covering the roof are jāso.

2: Damm et al. --136 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

ʻim: the family dwelling. It usually stood on a stone foundation, and had plank walls with doors; the gable walls projected, and they were made of mats, while the roof was of palm fronds. Thanks to these eaves, the floor plan was hexagonal. Then there were also some smaller huts (imomûti) on the ground; they were just faced with mats, and did not have any gable eaves, so their plan was four-sided. Sarfert's interpreter said that girls stayed in these little houses. But Sarfert himself found one of them on Uáu, which was inhabited by an old man, with his family.

2: Damm et al. --136 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
342 Aurupik

Chief's house. These houses are conspicuous on account of the stone foundation, which was solid, frequently two meters high, and arranged in such a way that you could climb it just like a flight of stairs; it generally has a hexagonal plan like the house, but there are also four-sided and lower platforms. The most southern of the three chief's houses is erected on an unusually small base.

2; Damm et al. --181-183 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1 2
116, 342 Faraulep

Types of houses. a) The dwellings (ím) are not alike on the gable sides, because a gable projection on poles appears here and there beside the smooth side of the gable. The huts stand on a fairly large rectangular platform of earth, which is edged with large headstones, and they have a place for the beams as well as board walls with four openings for doors. The roof (eau er ím) has the typical western Carolinian form, with a ridge pole, that projects for quite a way. Roof mats - ás. The terms may be applied to the various sketches.

Fig. 261: floor plan of a dwelling.

1. fireplace enclosure tóóu e ferán
2. fire-place ferán, position of the hearth nan e ferán
3. tülüt
4. nen ni uróra
5. stone enclosure urór
6. place for the beams gorá̋f, gorá̋ro
7. supporting beam for the projecting part of the ridge ɣamá̋rumur.
8. door neríń (see Fig. 262), it turns on pivots (ɣatubetúp), and has a bolt pivot (áti), which fits into a special hole (uaríti). Door post - tsúm, threshold - urár, door moulding - pír i pín.

Fig. 263: interior view of the roof.

1. uṅartiɣ, uṅātšíg (upper ridge pole)
2. ridge pole uúṅ
3. ilūtšíg
4. onobēí
5. gáp

Fig. 264 shows how the roof is fastened. It is upheld by supports (no. 2), which are attached to the purlins (no. 1).

Fig. 265 shows the outer side of the gable (píṅ) of a house with the veranda roof (nugu e píṅ).

1. lárre lípa píṅ
2. uól le píṅ
3. lárraɣi fáṅ [183]
4. tárē lipa e fáṅ.
5. fáṅ.

The posts supporting the veranda roof are fátr'ím. Figure 266 [VMM: 2: Damm et al. 183] shows the construction of the inner side of the gable (tebâu); this is hung with coconut leaves and only the central post is decorated (see Fig. 267).

1. Central post šoár tebâu
2. íṅ
3. túṅ tebâu

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 342 Woleai

The north-eastern section of the island. . .is part of the Püǰod region which belongs to the chief Mătewerit who is in Elato at present. There are eight farmsteads in this region.

Adjoining to the south-west--the boundary line runs across the middle of the inland lake--is Lŭǰapūdam (Līǰab pidăm) with five farmsteads; this region belongs to Wuĕliǰar (Uéliǰar); Tăwoǰāb, the south-western end of the island with its six farmsteads belongs to the chief Iǰĕrimar. Each one of these three regions has two canoe houses, and several farmsteads consist of work- and cook-houses or sheds. Ghost- and menstruation-houses could not be seen. The wooden walls of these houses consist of planks which were vertically inserted between frame-beams.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, Falāláp, 99, while Elā, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wóles, Lámutrik... and Faraûlip had been settled from Ífaluk .... Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felāláp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

A unit of buildings with its surrounding land is called bókut or búkut (illustration 51 page 109 [MR: in source]).

A building unit comprises a living house, supply house, cooking house and a blood-house.

4: Krämer--83-84 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek a frame house of timber which stands on the level ground is predominant; it is shown on almost all photographs. Its parts are best seen in Figs. 52 and 59 [VMM: see source]. They show the upper and the lower frame work, walls of wooden boards, and in them a door both on the gable side and the long side of the building (see Fig. 51 [VMM: see source]) . [84] The gable is covered with a grating and coconut pinnae or mats over it. Fig 72 [VMM: see source] clearly shows the gable side of the house Lemar from the outside; on this picture we may also observe the growth of young ubud leaves, because the house has been subject to magic. Usually the lower longitudinal beams stick out beyond the side of the gable, so that one can place a plank on both ends and thus make a seat (Plate 8c [VMM: see source]): Pillars may rest on the ends of the beam (Plate 8a [VMM: see source]) or another beam may be laid across them on which the king post stands in order to support the ridge piece which is also projecting (Plate 8d, [VMM: see source]), the result is a porch which may be open or covered over as Plate 9a shows. All these features of buildings have already been discussed in relation to Lukunor, which is the easternmost of the islands on which these frame constructions occur. Sometimes a hipped roof is added to the gable and is untidily supported by a few thin posts.

4: Krämer--83-84 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
342 Elato

[VMM: For a description of house construction and building materials, see 4: Krämer 83-84, 90].

4: Krämer--84-86
116, 342, 504, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

On Elato there may be a semi-conical roof so that the gable slopes; here the lower part of the house, the wall, is made of coconut mats (Figure 12a [VMM: see source]). Sometimes coconut fronds are hung directly from the ridge, and their stalks are pointed up.

Such semi-conical, sloping roofs may also be observed on the canoe-houses (Figure 53 [VMM: see source]) which are open all around, e.g., they do not have any walls. In this case, the lower frame beams do not exist [86], but only the upper framework is there and consists of square roughly worked beams (Plate 9c [VMM: see source]). They are often elaborately ornamented and the same is true of some of the square purline (Color Plate 2 and Plate 4a) [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--85-89 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
342 Elato

[VMM: For a description of the construction and building materials of small auxiliary buildings, see Lamotrek, 4: Krämer 85-89.]

4: Krämer--90 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Lamotrek

House Construction*

In the construction of houses, a strange device is used; it is a scaffold which represents some sort of beam lifter (Fig. 58 [VMM: see source]). Hellwig 2305 6071 is a model 72 centimeters high. Hellwig noted the term ligāse rumrum for the beam raiser; its frame is called wusal, and the top piece with its transverse poles is known as vaip. The lifter is used to raise the heavy beams into position. Crab-bars from both sides are brought into a position of leverage between the rungs of the scaffold and the ladder; the beam placed on the top part and lashed to the cross poles is lifted. For new construction on a fairly large scale (canoe-houses) they used beam lifters of different sizes. The initial lift of one beam end from the ground by crab-bars ended with the placing of the end on the lowest rung of the lifter; for the purpose of hauling it up to the next rung the whole framework is moved closer and the same system was followed to the top rung. Most commonly this mechanical device was used for the renewal of poata, sul, in the canoe-houses, but it was always constructed in adjustment to the beam height of the building in question. It is said that for years this sort of apparatus has been out of use.

Housedoors may be quadrangular frames, filled by gratings of parallel poles and 90:50 centimeters in size.

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* The builder is called séllap...

4: Krämer--254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Woleai

In our day the houses on Oleai did not have any stone foundations and the same was true of the buildings on Lámotrek.

4: Krämer--254-256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

On Aurepik we found some stone house foundations of two meters in height and it is therefore quite possible that they formerly existed on other islands. One report reads: Gamelei, the father of Metag in Aurepik (here Eaurupeg) with his son Feker built the large foundations under the houses of Aurepik. This was done after a typhoon in which the entire population with the exception of four individuals lost their lives. When the Yap islander Goru came to Aurepik in 1905, together with the district official, [256] Gamalai was still alive but was very old (probably 90 years). He had completely forgotten the Yap language which he had known earlier in his life. Thus the stone foundations of the houses of Aurepik was due to local ideas which naturally may come up anywhere. But they have not been able to assert themselves.

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342, 192 Woleai

roof	fatafat
wooden door	gátam (of rijeng wood)
stairs	eál
wall	tipap
hearth	fálang
fence	óror, bei around a grave (imitation in the house)
sleeping place	lelliei, masúr
headbench, head rest	eelungei, ului
sleeping mat	giégi (possessive giei)
rubbish heap	ualú beibei
to weed	uiuí, fengi
sweep	böbö
well	djalül
wash water	djalutütü
taulomónu	mosquito net of woven mats (Pollap).

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 342

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

The houses were similar in construction and arrangement, but some of them were better built and cleaner. We were often surprised at the size of the planks and boards which are used for partitions and most of which are made out of the suckers of the breadfruit trunks, which are used in ingenious fashions. When these are hewn you obtain large three-cornered planks, and then you can divide them into smaller pieces of the desired shape.

6: Senfft--56
116, 342

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The natives do not take great pains with the construction of houses. The foundations consist of two planks at right angles to each other; short, upright planks are placed on these, and two more planks at right angles to each other are placed on these props. On the beams which join the framework there are buttresses which support the roof tree. Between this and the middle layer of planks there are lattices which form the frame of the roof. The roof is pointed; it is covered with coconut fronds. The walls of the house consist of boards. No distinction is made between doors and windows; most of them cannot be closed. Pictures of fish are carved in the upper beams, which are painted with limestone dye. The roof juts out on all sides so that neither sun nor air can penetrate the houses; the interior is therefore dark but seldom cool. On one of the narrow sides the roof juts out further and is supported by props; coconut mats are stretched between these so that another, more airy room is formed. The natives strew small pebbles chipped off coral rocks on the yard around the house. The average dwelling house is about 3 meters high, 2 meters wide, and 5 or 6 meters long.

7: Senfft--194 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

The style of the houses [MR: on Eauripik] is very striking. The basic lines are those of the tabinau and bäwai of Jap. The foundations are of coral rocks; at one assembly house they were over two meters high. The gables jut out over the framework. Since there is very little bamboo wood on these low coral islands, the walls of the houses are made of coconut fronds or of planks.

11: Born--180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Woleai

Among the buildings of the Oleaï Islands, there are first of all the large houses, fal. Here the men spend the larger part of the day and night, a custom which is also found on Jap. However, the women and girls are also permitted to stay in the large houses, and the custom of keeping mongol, hetaerae, is not known here; in these two respects the houses here differ from those on Jap. There are two kinds of community houses. One, called falepai, is erected on large, rectangular wharfs, which jut out into the water several meters from the beach. The style of these falepai is reminiscent of the bâwai on Jap. The former, however, are small, and the timber used is not as good; they are made of wood from coconut and pandanus trees. The houses are used to store sails, nets, weir baskets, and mats. At night the natives light large fires within and in front of these houses, so that they provide a cool shelter, with fewer mosquitos than the houses on the beach. The inhabited islands each have one house of this type, Utagal and Falalis each have two.

11: Born--181 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Woleai

The dwelling house, im-molut, of the Oleai natives stands in about the same relation to that of Jap as a hut does to a mansion. It has the appearance of a temporary shelter which even a slight gust of wind might blow away. The walls and the roof are made of coconut leaves. There are no foundations, no floor, and no partitions dividing the inside into separate rooms as there are on Jap.

Recently, however, the natives have built more substantial houses, probably under the influence of the Jap natives. These have regular planks and walls made of the wood from breadfruit trees, im-pap.

Some houses have a small veranda, im-mal-paloi, which is separated from the interior of the house and surrounded by partitions made of leaves.

The yard around the house is kept very clean. Usually it is covered with coral pebbles. The adjoining buildings are cookhouses, malam. There are no separate houses for women and girls as there are on Jap; the entire family ...which usually includes a number of unmarried female relatives, most of them older, live together in one small room.

12: Lutke--145
116, 342

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The chief's houses are better and cleaner here than those of the Lukunor people. The walls are wide planks of breadfruit tree which take on a nice polish and a pretty red color; these give the houses an air of neatness which could not be duplicated in the Caroline Archipelago, or even in the whole South Sea. They are really jewels. It seems that they only use for this purpose the parts of the trunk which are near the root, and which are of no value for the canoes. Because of this all the planks on the walls are in the form of large squares and all these pieces are well roped together.

17: Meinicke--371
116, 342

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie the walls [LEM: of the houses] are made out of well worked planks of bread-fruit tree wood;

28: Spiro--5-6
116, 361, 342

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Within the district there is no indication of a city planning board, which might have allocated homesteads with an eye to symmetry. The homesteads are scattered throughout the district, some touching the main path, some being much further inland, some being isolated from others, some being contiguous, so that the boundaries of the two touch. But within the court yard of each homestead there is almost monotonous regularity, each having at least one 'sleeping house' (im), a cooking shed (malum), and almost all having a menstrual hut, the architiecture [sic] of each structure being similar, if not identical, to that in the other households. The average house is a one room building about 12 feet at its apex. [6] The frame of the house consists of four upright pillars, stuck into the ground. These are connected by light, supply branches, arranged in wicker-work fashion, to form the walls, which are about four feet in height. The gabled roof is constructed in the same fashion, the entire structure being held together by native rope. The walls are enclosed with coconut branch mats, and the roof with plaited coconut branches, tied to the frame, and superimposed one on the other in tile fashion, so as to repel the rains. The roof overhangs the walls, and reaches within three feet of the ground, protecting the house from the sun, and the dripping water. The house has a number of entrances, usually one at each of the four corners, and two on each side of the house. The entrance which is quite low--one must stoop in order to enter--is a

passageway, not a door. In the case of rain or cold it is covered with a mat, but ordinarily it is open, there being little need for privacy, nor any fear of burglary."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--37[3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 342 Ifalik

"The kind of cooperative work we have been discussing is cooperation whose results redound to the benefit of the entire society, or at least to the district. But this pattern of cooperation operates even where there is no direct return to the participants. When a man wishes to thatch the roof of his own house, the young men of his district offer their services with no hesition. Of course, they receive a gift of tobacco or food upon completion of the job, but this gift is a mere token of appreciation, rather than payment for work done. However, this cooperation is always reciprocal, because the man who is assisted by his neighbors in one instance will assist in another instance. Then there are occasions in which one district assists another. For example in one of the clean-ups, the district of Rauau, which is smaller in size but more numerous in population that its neighboring district of Felarik, completed its work before the latter, whereupon a number of boys and men of Rauau proceeded to Felarik and assisted the people of that district for an additional two days, until the work was completed. This was done entirely voluntarily. When I informed the chiefs of this cooperation, they were very pleased, and all proclaimed a spontaneous 'erat'. (Very good)."

28: Spiro--75 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 788, 241, 342, 396 Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

38: Matsuoka--530 (No date) 1927 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

In the Central Carolines they used to employ the Yap style of building as may still be seen. On Aurupik the houses were sometimes built on a stone platform raised six feet above the level of the ground, covering a space of 120 square yards; with high towering gable ends they were an imposing sight, (South Sea Topography, 117) it is said. But today they are mostly set directly on the ground.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]